Human Rights Are Now—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

July 14, 1951

South Africa: Racist Caldron

BY R. K. COPE

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Free Speech vs. Free-for-All

An Opening Argument

BY NANETTE DEMBITZ

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The U. N. Looks Beyond Korea

AN EDITORIAL

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Thought Control on the Waterfront

BY PETER TRIMBLE

JUL 12 1951

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Important features

soon to appear in THE *Nation*

New Alignment in the Pacific

Two articles of exceptional interest will deal with the new alignment of forces now emerging in the Pacific: "A Defense Pact for the Pacific," by *W. Macmahon Ball*, in the July 21 issue; "When Japan Has a Treaty," by *Owen Lattimore*, the following week. W. Macmahon Ball, a professor at the University of Melbourne, served as the British Commonwealth Member of the Allied Council for Japan. His book "Japan: Enemy or Ally?" published in 1949, remains one of the best critical studies of the problems of post-war Japan. Owen Lattimore is, of course, director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations of Johns Hopkins University. Few issues affecting American foreign policy today are of greater importance than those discussed in these penetrating articles by two experts on the Pacific.

Hectic Hunting Among the Sooners

To tell the story of the Oklahoma Loyalty Oath—a wild and woolly ideological concoction—*The Nation* has turned to two students, Jean Lomenick and Bruce Johnson, editor and former editor of the *Daily O'Collegian* of the Oklahoma A. and M. Their article not only deals with a crucial educational issue but contains some rare and wonderful Oklahomana.

The Fourth Estate in the Rockies

Coming issues will also carry two interesting articles about journalism in the Rocky Mountain "Empire." The observant Robert L. Perkins of the *Rocky Mountain News* will tell the story of Houstoun Waring, publisher of the Littleton *Independent*. The State Department has made a documentary film about this paper and its publisher to show throughout the world as an illustration of what might be called democratic newspaper management at its finest. Max Awner, assistant editor of the *Colorado Labor Advocate*, in "Metamorphosis of a Newspaper," will tell how Palmer Hoyt redeemed the Denver *Post* and then bewildered those who had cheered his energetic liberalism by manifestations of a strange xenophobia.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

RUSSIA IS LIKELY TO REAP A RICH HARVEST from Congressional reaction to the prospective Korean cease-fire. No sooner had the Chinese and North Korean commanders responded favorably to Ridgway's invitation than the conservative alliance moved to cut down the Administration's mobilization program and return the country, to a substantial degree, to a business-as-usual economy. Lobbies against price rollbacks launched a new drive to eliminate all price and wage controls. The $8,500,000,000 program for bolstering the economic and military strength of our allies was threatened with a meat-ax attack. Senator George, chairman of the powerful Finance Committee, talked about rewriting and reducing the $7,000,000,000 tax bill voted by the House; sympathy was rising, he reported, for a soak-the-poor sales tax as a substitute for higher corporation and individual income levies. There is serious danger that the high-speed remobilization of the Western Allies planned last year will be watered down before we are assured even of peace in the Far East—and certainly before we are assured that a first step has been taken toward a negotiated settlement of the whole cold war.

*

TO ASSUME THAT MOSCOW PLANNED THINGS that way is to credit it with a more accurate knowledge of Congressional reflexes than it probably possesses. But unless Mr. Truman and public opinion can change the temper of Congress, the results are likely to be the same as if the Soviets had deliberately lulled us to sleep. If Congress refuses to authorize further wage and price controls, the Administration must either slow down the pace of industrial expansion or pay the price of unchecked inflation as mobilization reaches its peak in 1952-53. With Congress in its present mood, any funds voted for our allies are likely to be chiefly for rearmament, although Western Europe is still in desperate need of economic assistance to raise its living standards. Not the least of our weaknesses, as a power with world responsibilities, is the tendency in Congress to swing back and forth in response to isolated events, with the result that the execution of a long-range program is hindered by vacillations, false starts, and delays. It should be clear to every member of Congress that remobilization and implementation of the Atlantic Pact were planned to meet not just the North Korean attack but the threat of aggression in the world illustrated by that attack. This threat of aggression will not be automatically removed by the outbreak of armed truce in a corner of Asia.

*

THE FRIENDS OF FRANCO IN THIS COUNTRY have made no secret of their pleasure at the welcome accorded the Spanish Air Minister, González Gallarza, in Washington. General Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, visited the Spanish embassy for the first time to attend the reception given by Ambassador José F. de Lequerica for Franco's Minister. Secretary of the Air Force Thomas K. Finletter also gave a reception for the head of the Spanish air force, and the ardently pro-Franco Senators, Brewster and McCarran, paid their respects to him. Every American who has taken seriously the claim that we are fighting for democracy will be deeply offended by these expressions of friendship for a visiting fascist. The incident, moreover, provides additional proof of the inconsistency of our foreign policy. Not many weeks ago Admiral Sherman, testifying before the Russell committee, made the very intelligent observation that this country should consider not only the strategic value of the Spanish bases but the condition of the country and the sentiment of its people. That 90 per cent of the Spanish people are against Franco was demonstrated by the extensive strikes last spring and will be demonstrated again by coming events. All Western Europe, all our best allies are against Franco. Yet this country defies world opinion and courts a dictator who was our enemy during World War II.

*

GOVERNOR OREN E. LONG OF HAWAII HAS approved a series of measures setting up a territorial employees' loyalty program. Despite the fact that the FBI has been able to find only 36 Communists in the territory's population of nearly 500,000, Hawaii will now

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have a loyalty program more drastic than that of the federal government or of any state. The new measures require loyalty oaths of elected officials as well as teachers and civil-service employees; authorize a loyalty board to prepare personal-history forms which every jobholder must fill out; permit the board to oust any employee of whose loyalty it has "reasonable doubt"; permit the board to make its own rules and regulations, including the determination of a forum and the number of votes required to take action on any matter; and require the dismissal of any employee who refuses to answer questions on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

✶

THE GOVERNOR SIGNED THE BILLS DESPITE protests from the American Civil Liberties Union, the Honolulu branch of the Americans for Democratic Action, and most of the faculty at the University of Hawaii. Even the usually nervous Honolulu *Star Bulletin* condemned the program as "too sweeping." The misgivings of the Governor, however, were even more impressive than these protests. "I have not found anyone who professes to like the bills," he said in signing them, "or who wants them to become a permanent part of our local and national laws. . . . Under ordinary conditions no one would think of such laws or tolerate them. We are not, however, living under ordinary conditions. The fervent hope of everyone is that in the near future all legislation of this nature will be unnecessary." That legislation so destructive of basic liberties could be approved by an executive who harbors such serious doubts of its wisdom is merely additional evidence of the hypnotic power of the loyalty obsession. The Governor's words will be scant comfort to the first civil servant or teacher who is luckless enough to be haled before Hawaii's new heresy tribunal. During World War II, Hawaii refused to yield to the hysterical pressure for the removal of Japanese Americans, and subsequent events amply justified its confidence in them. It is unfortunate that this fine record should now be marred by the enactment of the new loyalty program.

✶

BACK IN 1887 THE FAMOUS GRAND HOTEL was built on Mackinac Island in Lake Michigan by a company headed by Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt. The Commodore would certainly have been flabbergasted by the recent twelve-day convention of Moral Rearmament which brought 1,683 delegates from thirty-two countries to the Grand Hotel to hear Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman discourse on the four moral absolutes and proclaim "the right revolution" as the answer to communism. Delegates from California, Florida, and Japan came attired in summer clothing which offered scant protection against the strong winds buffeting the fog-

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bound island, but the warmth of their reception made them soon forget the winds without. There were people from India, Burma, Japan, Ceylon, Malaya, China, and Korea, including an authentic abbot from the Buddhist monastery in Rangoon in saffron robes who chanted a prayer in the sacred Paili language. Lieutenant General Martin Gareis, a former German tank-corps commander on the eastern front, asked forgiveness of the French delegates, and Senator Alexander Wiley spoke of Moral Rearmament as "the dynamic morality" of our times. Among other Congressional leaders present were Senator Francis Case and Representatives Rabaut, Bennett, Deane, Thompson, and Carnahan. Confused thinking in Congress and other high places reminded Representative Charles E. Bennett of "a giant who beckons to smaller people and says, 'I don't know where I'm going but come on along.' "

*

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN AN MRA RALLY something was said on the sordid subject of finances. Delegates were assured that their travel and hotel expenses, like all MRA costs, were "underwritten by the generosity and sacrifice of rich and poor believers," rather after the manner in which the American Revolution was financed. Case-histories of the miracles worked by the four moral absolutes in industrial relations were presented by labor-management teams from a California dehydrated-fruit concern, a Canadian biscuit company, and Pan-American World Airways. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer reported that MRA had given "invisible but effective" assistance during negotiations on the Schuman Plan, and Dr. Hollington Tong told the delegates that although "the moon is down" for China," MRA and the Chinese Nationalists are beacons of life and new hope for 450,000,000 Chinese. Premier Sophocles Venizelos was scheduled to speak, but some nasty last-minute disturbances in Greece kept him away from Lake Michigan. At the conclusion of the convention 250 delegates journeyed to Washington, where they were feted by Senators Alexander Wiley and H. Alexander Smith. Seldom has a religious gathering of any kind received such lavish press notices as this "rich man's revival" on Mackinac Island. The generous coverage, however, is understandable. MRA may not believe in sawdust trails and trombone solos, but it stages the fanciest revivals of an age in which religious exuberance has become somewhat attenuated.

*

A LARRUPING DEMOCRATIC COUNTER-PUNCH is wrapped up in the current issue of *Social Action*, a publication of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian churches. In an article entitled Protestant Piety and the Right Wing, a young Baptist minister just out of Yale has traced the record of six leading right-wing organizations and their attempts to manipulate Protestant piety. The six organizations are the Committee for Constitutional Government, Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, the Foundation for Economic Education, Dr. James J. Fifield's "Spiritual Mobilization," the Christian Freedom Foundation, and the fundamentalist organ, the *Christian Beacon*. The Reverend George Younger, who prepared the study, has neatly summarized the common denominators in the ideological outpourings of these and similar "Old Deal" propaganda efforts. He also points to the small clique of giant corporations that over the years has so generously financed this particular group of "right-wing" organizations. By playing on partial and largely archaic values, the right-wing "Old Dealers" have been quite successful in influencing the programs of many Protestant denominations. "The challenge to Protestantism from the 'Old Dealers' is a real one," writes the Reverend Mr. Younger "for much within traditional Protestantism would yield unwittingly to them. . . . Under the banners of 'freedom' and the fight against 'statism' [we] may be enlisted in an attempt to return to a day when business acknowledged very little responsibility except to itself." *Social Action* is to be commended for this pioneer effort to counter the influence of extreme right-wing propaganda in the Protestant movement.

*

IN A REPORT TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, Dr. W. Earl Armstrong disclosed last week that an estimated 300,000 teachers will quit the teaching profession in the next three years and that 125,000 are expected to leave teaching for other types of work this year. These figures do not include those who will die or who will leave because of marriage or retirement. At the same time 10,000,000 more children will be enrolled in the schools by 1960. Other speakers at the conference emphasized the physical deterioration that has taken place in the schools since 1940: few schoolhouses have been built; existing structures have gone unrepaired. With some 50,000 additional elementary teachers needed this year, the problem is already much too big for local communities to handle without some assistance from the federal government. The new bill for federal aid to education (HR 4468), introduced by Representative Graham A. Barden of North Carolina, would provide aid only for teachers' salaries, salaries of supervisory and maintenance personnel, the purchase of laboratory equipment, and the maintenance and repair of school buildings, and therefore may not be considered entirely adequate, but it at least points the way to a solution of some of the critical problems now facing the nation's public schools.

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Human Rights Are Now

IN A two-to-one decision, with Judge J. Waties Waring dissenting, the three-judge federal court which heard the Clarendon County segregation case—discussed in these pages on June 2—has upheld the constitutionality of racial segregation in the secondary schools. Since the state had conceded that school facilities for white and Negro students were unequal and had estimated that it would cost approximately $40,000,000 to remove the more obvious discriminations, the court ordered the school authorities to report back in six months on what improvements had been made in the Negro schools.

The court majority, consisting of Circuit Judge John J. Parker and District Judge George Bell Timmerman, held that segregation in the public schools is a matter of legislative policy for the states. Segregated public schools do not violate the Fourteenth Amendment, they argued, since the issues at this level are different from those at the level of graduate schools. The reasons given for this distinction were that education at the common-school level is compulsory, and that at this level "as good an education" can be provided in "separate but equal" schools for Negroes as in the white schools. Not only are both reasons extremely dubious, but the argument ignores the fact that while the so-called "equalization" of facilities is taking place, certain Negro children will continue to be deprived of the kind of schooling to which they have a constitutional right. This loss cannot be made good to them; it is irreparable. "If segregation is wrong," as Judge Waring pointed out in his dissent, "then the place to stop it is in the first grade and not in graduate colleges. I am of the opinion that all of the legal guideposts, expert testimony, common sense, and reason point unerringly to the conclusion that the system of segregation in education adopted and practiced in the state of South Carolina must go and must go now." The decision, of course, will be appealed.

Although the impact of the decision was lessened by the state's strategic stipulations—none of the Negro plaintiffs got a chance to testify—the trial of this case undoubtedly marked the opening of a new chapter in race relations in the South. Not only was the trial widely reported in the Southern Negro press, but the coverage in such papers as the Charleston *News and Courier* and the Columbia *State* was complete and fair. Southern whites and Negroes were for the first time able to read in their local papers an adequate account of the argument against segregated schools.

The response of the local Negro community was extraordinary. On the first day of the trial some five hundred people, mostly Negroes, gathered in the federal building in Charleston as early as seven o'clock. Throngs in the corridors stood and listened patiently to the testimony hour after hour. For many of these spectators it was doubtless an exciting experience to hear Thurgood Marshall, general counsel for the N. A. A. C. P., sharply cross-examine school officials. On the last day, before a packed courtroom, Mr. Marshall said in an effective summation, "Human rights are now," not next year, not next month, but now.

The prevailing view in the South seems to be that the Supreme Court will eventually rule, in this or some similar case, that segregation is unconstitutional even if school facilities for Negro and white children are equal, as measured, say, by per capita expenditures. On this assumption W. D. Workman, Jr., political correspondent for the *News and Courier*, has spelled out the possible courses open to the Southern states.

Mr. Workman concedes that open defiance, or, as he terms it, "popular nullification," is the least likely alternative. The Southern states, however, while acquiescing in a Supreme Court decision, might evade it by gerrymandering school districts to perpetuate segregation. This strategy would not work well in rural areas or small towns, nor would it prove satisfactory even in Charleston, where whites and Negroes are frequently intermixed territorially. A third "solution" would be the exclusion of Negroes on the pretense of raising academic standards, but this would be difficult to manage without also excluding large numbers of whites. Or, again, some 7,000 Negro teachers in the South Carolina schools might be discharged in an effort to line them up against integration. Or the public school system might be abolished. Or, as now proposed in Louisiana, a rule might be adopted that pupils could not be transferred from one school to another without the prior approval of the officials of both schools. A more likely stratagem would be to segregate the school population on the basis of sex in order to preclude what Mr. Workman rather luridly calls "the danger of racial consorting."

Abolition of the public-school system in South Carolina would save $32,000,000 a year in state taxes and $27,000,000 in county and school-district taxes but would raise serious problems over the disposition of some $90,000,000 in school properties. Moreover, private grammar schools would have to charge about $130 per child, junior high schools $170, and high schools $225; and few Negro or white families could afford such fees. Mr. Workman concedes that "by no means all" of South Carolina's whites would favor the abolition of the public-school system. A proposal to amend the constitution might provide a means by which those against abolition could be counted.

It is clear that the South is on the defensive, and that its strategy is to buy as much time as possible. Pointing to Governor Byrne's $75,000,000 rural school fund, the South Carolina authorities asked the three-judge court for time in which to bring the state's Negro

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schools up to the physical standards prevailing in the white schools. The difficulty, of course, is that time is measured differently by aroused Southern Negroes and by the bourbons who rule the South. Negroes demand their rights "here and now"; the whites say, "much later and maybe."

However, by conceding the fact of discrimination, the South has unwittingly thrown up its case against segregation. Once school officials begin to remedy existing discrepancies, the difficulties of maintaining a segregated school system will multiply. It will be almost impossible, for example, to give even lip-service to the principle of segregation if its basis is to be not color but sex. On the other hand, the more the Southern states spend to improve Negro schools, the greater will be their reluctance to abandon the public-school system. The Southern states can run but they cannot hide. And the faster they run—that is, the more they spend on segregated schools—the more difficult it will be to initiate a system of private schools and the harder Negroes will press for integration.

From any point of view, therefore, the South's opposition to integrated schools would seem to be self-defeating. In fact, the pessimistic tone of Southern editorials indicates a widespread realization that sooner or later segregated schools must be abandoned. But the South can fight a long delaying action, with Negroes being forced to bring test suits in every state and with the Southern states filing joint briefs in the Supreme Court. Since decisions by a three-judge court can be appealed directly to the Supreme Court, the Clarendon case may become an important factor in the 1952 election. South Carolina does not need to be reminded that the Supreme Court usually follows the election returns.

The U. N. Looks Beyond Korea

THE prospect of a cease-fire in Korea has lifted the spirits of United Nations officials. For them the Malik proposal means not only removal of the fear that the limited Korean conflict might at any moment develop into World War III. A cease-fire will, above all, be regarded by the U. N. as incontrovertible evidence that collective resistance to aggression does work—that what the League of Nations failed to accomplish in Ethiopia, the Rhineland, and Manchuria the U. N., with the United States this time in the lead, has achieved by a year's persevering effort.

The U. N. can justifiably take credit for its peace operations as well as its military operations. For the terms of the cease-fire negotiations are closely modeled on the proposal drawn up on December 15, 1950, by a three-man Group on a Cease-Fire composed of Nasrollah Entezam of Iran, president of the General Assembly, Sir Benegal N. Rau of India, and Lester B. Pearson of Canada. At that time the U. N. proposal was rejected by Russia and the Chinese Communists as a "trap." Mr. Malik's advocacy in June of terms he considered intolerable in December represents a genuine victory for the United Nations.

What made the Russians change their mind? One reason, as seen in U. N. circles, is that the Chinese Communists needed additional war material if they were to continue the struggle with the far better-armed forces of the U. N.—and Moscow was apparently not prepared to become more deeply involved in the Korean war. Moreover, many U. N. delegates believe that Russia by no means always sees eye to eye with Communist China—contrary to the view prevailing in the United States that Peking is a mere puppet of the Kremlin, irretrievably lost to the rest of the world. There is, however, another reason which in the opinion of U. N. observers may have been even more influential in altering Russia's policy, and that is the removal of General MacArthur, whom Soviet-bloc spokesmen had often denounced at Lake Success as a "megalomaniac." It had been the judgment of some U. N. delegates that peace feelers would prove futile as long as the General, with his well-advertised sympathy for Chiang Kai-shek and his demand for the bombing of the Chinese mainland, retained control of military operations in Korea. Now they can barely refrain from murmuring, "I told you so."

While negotiation of a cease-fire by the military commanders in the field, meeting in Korea's ancient capital of Kaesong, three miles south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, is not expected to present insuperable difficulties, the U. N. is already looking ahead to the next steps. The cease-fires in Israel and Indonesia, which immediately come to mind as analogous, do not provide exact precedents, for in these two instances the U. N. played the role of neutral mediator. In Korea the U. N. cannot be accurately decribed as a "belligerent": first, it has no forces of its own but rather serves as the framework within which the troops of U. N. members operate under a unified command; and, second, the role of the U. N. is not to engage in war but to step in for the purpose of preventing aggression before it has begun or checking it when it is under way. Nevertheless, the North Koreans, the Chinese Communists, and the Russians may find it difficult to regard the U. N. as a wholly disinterested party. This raises the question of who will supervise the execution of the cease-fire agreement. One of the by-products of collective security is that no real neutrals are left, except Switzerland. It is conceivable, however, that a supervisory committee might be recruited from countries of Asia and Latin America which, while agreeing on the need to resist aggression, have for one reason or another not sent troops to Korea.

More far-reaching is the question whether, once a

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cease-fire has been concluded, the U. N. should leave well enough alone or press for negotiation of an over-all settlement in this storm center of Asia. From the point of view of the United States it would be much easier to end a limited war by an agreement strictly limited to battlefield arrangements. For this would preclude a new hue and cry by Senator McCarthy and his supporters about "a sell-out at Kaesong" comparable to "the betrayal at Yalta."

Yet will a cease-fire prove enough? Both the United States and the United Nations have hoped that Korea can ultimately be unified and rehabilitated under U. N. supervision. Should the U. N. act on the theory that discretion is the better part of valor and, forgoing unification for the time being, concentrate on rehabilitation of South Korea?

Any plans for Korea as a whole would obviously require the cooperation of the North Koreans, the Chinese Communists, and the Russians. On what basis can the United States negotiate with Peking after some of our official spokesmen have solemnly declared at the MacArthur hearings that they would "never" let Communist China into the U. N. and would not dream of turning Formosa over to the Peking regime? Yet to acknowledge the existence of the Peking authorities on the battlefield and ignore them on the field of diplomacy may turn out to be an Alice in Wonderland act. What Washington apparently intends to do, while maintaining its newly hardened Far East policy intact, is to leave the decisions about the admission of Peking and disposal of Formosa to a majority vote in the General Assembly. The most important problem of all, however, from the point of view of both Communist China and the U. S. S. R., is not before the U. N.—and that is the Japanese peace treaty, which in its present draft contemplates militarization of Japan. Once a cease-fire has been concluded, it will prove increasingly difficult for the United States to keep Communist China from participating in negotiations for a Japanese treaty, particularly since Japan is in urgent need of trade with China.

There is mounting evidence that Moscow's objective today is to reduce fear of war in Europe and Asia and thereby achieve a "cease-arms" in Germany and Japan, the two great powers whose ambitions in the past have repeatedly endangered Russia's security. A Korean cease-fire and even a temporary shelving of the Formosa question might seem a modest price to pay for this larger gain.

"WHY NOT? I ONLY RISK ANOTHER BROKEN LEG" London *Daily Herald*

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Thought Control on the Waterfront

BY PETER TRIMBLE

FOR many years the lot of West Coast maritime workers has been a hard one. The turbulent building up of their strong unions has often put them "on the bricks"—carrying a sign in front of strike-locked piers and ships. On San Francisco's Embarcadero men have been shot, gassed, stoned, beaten, shanghaied, and jailed for their defense of union principles—and blacklisted so effectively that there was no work for them anywhere in the United States.

Many West Coast dock workers are former sailors—men who are "taking a trip ashore," a trip that often stretches to twenty years. They are tough, individualistic men. They have seen the world. They know the score. They have an opinion on everything and are willing to debate it with fists or bale hooks or in accordance with Robert's Rules of Order. Like most seamen, they regard Coast Guard port officials as their enemies—brass-bound shore men who can take a sailor's sea papers away from him. So it was perhaps unfortunate that the Coast Guard was selected to administer the regulations designed to guard the nation's docks and vessels against subversives—and given powers unprecedented in peace time.

Before a comprehensive screening program under the control of the Coast Guard was set up by the Magnuson act and a subsequent executive order from the White House, two emergency measures were put into effect. The first was a voluntary screening program adopted by representatives of "anti-Communist" maritime unions, shipowners, and the government at a meeting called by Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin in Washington on July 24, 1950. The "lefties"—the big International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union headed by Harry Bridges and the closely allied Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union—were not invited to participate and subsequently declared that the program was aimed directly at them. Joseph Curran, they pointed out, had already purged his C. I. O. National Maritime Union and was planning in addition to "retire" any member who could not pass the screening test. Harry Lundeberg, lusty head of the A. F. of L. Sailors' Union of the Pacific, had for years loudly waged war against those he called the "comrats."

With surprising unanimity, the Washington meeting, as reported in the press, decided to have the Coast Guard check all crew lists against government files containing the names of "Communist Party card carriers, subversives, and notorious fellow-travelers."

The effect of the screening program was first felt on the West Coast in Seattle, Washington, four days after the meeting, when a seaman was removed from a ship as a "poor security risk." By August 4, sixty-five members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards had been fired by a Seattle steamship company for refusing to submit to the screening test. Soon all seamen were being screened, whether or not they were on ships carrying military or foreign-bound cargo. The procedure was extended to ships leaving from Atlantic and Gulf ports on August 9. On the same day President Truman signed the Magnuson act, giving the government authority to carry on the screening which the "voluntary" agreement had instituted.

Meanwhile, the Longshoremen and the Cooks were shouting their opposition. The Longshoremen, however, after bitterly condemning Tobin's program in a coast-wide caucus, yielded to strong internal right-wing pressure and voted to cooperate with "any such program that cannot be used against the union."

The second interim measure was a security check of all longshoremen employed on military docks ordered by the army and navy jointly on August 10. Before that it was mainly seamen who were screened. Only longshoremen who were cleared in this check received identification badges signifying they could work.

The I. L. W. U. called this a blacklist and backed its charge with a statement from one Joe Luby, a Seattle longshoreman. Luby said he had been screened off the navy docks with the official explanation that he was considered "an agitator and a radical . . . a Communist." Later, he said, he had been asked by navy investigators to point out dock workers who might be Communists and had refused. When the I. L. W. U. protested Luby's case, and that of some twenty-five other screened workers, the navy replied that "the disclosure of specific reasons for action in each of these cases would not benefit the individuals concerned, and it would be inconsistent with sound security-control policy."

President Truman's executive order giving the Coast Guard almost absolute power over all docks and vessels was issued on October 18. The waterfront simmered until April, 1951, when the I. L. W. U. reversed its attitude of reluctant cooperation. In convention in Honolulu, the union overrode minority opposition and condemned the screening program. Bridges spearheaded the action, calling on longshoremen to "wake up and fight."

PETER TRIMBLE is labor reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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Most rank-and-file dock workers, however, were unwilling to be cut off from the steady work provided by military cargoes and continued to submit to screening. Many, after the customary six weeks' wait, were informed that they were ineligible.

THE screening methods used on the San Francisco waterfront were exposed recently in court when ten rejected maritime workers asked Federal Judge Edward P. Murphy for an injunction on the ground that the loyalty check violated the First and the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution and was conducted in a manner contrary to the Administrative Procedures Act. At the hearing Major General J. A. Lester, commanding general of the San Francisco Port of Embarkation, revealed that United States intelligence services and the FBI had been asked for "complete information as to all shoreside workers at the port." An affidavit by Rear Admiral Joseph E. Stika, commander of the Twelfth Coast Guard District, declared that one man who had lost his merchant mariner's documents had been refused another set because "reliable information" indicated that he had been a member of the Communist Party in 1948-49 and had been a student at the California Labor School, which was on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. Another man, according to the Admiral's affidavit, was refused a security card because of "repeated arrests and convictions for drunkenness during the past nine years." Still another was screened out with this official explanation: "Believed to be affiliated with or sympathetic to the principles of organizations, associations, and groups subversive to the United States."

Vice-Admiral Merlin O'Neill, commandant of the Coast Guard, named two workers who were rejected because they were "believed" to be members of or sympathetic to the Communist Party; another, a ship's stewardess, was alleged to have written letters to Judge Medina protesting against the trial of the eleven top Communists; a fourth was rejected because he was "believed to be a carrier and distributor of Communist literature"; and a fifth, because it was alleged he had been to Moscow (he denied it). Of this man Admiral O'Neill said, "He only refrained from joining the Communist Party because he thought such action would be displeasing to his mother." It was charged further that the unionist in question had declared at a union meeting, "The union comes before God and country."

Courtesy the *Dispatcher* (I.L.W.U.)

For these and similar reasons 175 San Francisco seamen had been screened off their ships by May 2—50 were cleared on appeal—and 147 dock workers had been denied clearance. Some of these men were Communists, some babblers who could not be trusted with knowledge of military cargoes, some drunks who could not be allowed to handle ammunition. But many others stamped as bad security risks swear they are none of these things. They insist they are loyal Americans, skilled and steady at their trade.

THE present procedure requires all longshoremen who work on San Francisco's military docks—and a large number of the docks are used for military purposes—to register for a loyalty test. Six weeks after they have been photographed, finger-printed, and interviewed by screening officials, they are either issued a security card or informed by letter that they have been judged a "poor security risk." Seamen are checked every time they sign on for a voyage. If the screening officers find a seaman's name on a secret list supplied by the Coast Guard's Washington headquarters, they direct the shipping commissioner not to certify the man to sail.

Both longshoremen and seamen may appeal the verdict to a local and finally to a national board of review. As originally set up, the local appeal board was to be composed of union members, management representatives, and public members, with a Coast Guard officer as chairman. So far, however, local appeals have been heard by one man—a Coast Guard officer who may make recommendations to his commandant in Washington. The resultant ruling may be appealed to a national board, which for the present is composed of five Coast Guard officers. This board also makes recommendations to the commandant, whose decision is now final.

Screened-out longshoremen are afraid they will soon be denied work on commercial as well as military docks unless they can get their security classification changed. For loyalty requirements are spreading. The Coast Guard has recently announced it will screen every person who wants access to commercial docks that may be handling

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military or essential cargo. This means shipping executives, steamship-company employees, newspaper reporters, and anyone else with an interest at the docks. Certain docks will be closed to all but accepted persons while classified cargo is being handled.

The government has defended its one-man local appeal boards by asserting that lack of cooperation on the part of left-wing unions has made it impossible to set up tripartite boards. The Coast Guard has ordered them set up but has encountered difficulties in getting full panels of members. The M. C. and S. and the I. L. W. U. deny this. Both declare they have made detailed suggestions to the Coast Guard on the screening machinery, and the I. L. W. U. says it has submitted names of possible appeal-board members to the government.

In the first test of the program's constitutionality, the petition for an injunction, Judge Murphy observed that while important constitutional rights were involved, "the public interest would suffer immeasurably by the issuance of an injunction" halting the loyalty check. He continued: "The personal deprivations petitioners have suffered and the additional sacrifice they are called upon to make by this denial of their [petition for injunction] bulks small beside the incalculable loss which might result if this court summarily suspended even part of the security program."

In his ruling Judge Murphy recalled that Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas had laid the entire problem bare in connection with another case involving civil rights. "The problems of security are real," Justice Douglas said. "So are the problems of freedom. The paramount issue of the age is to reconcile the two."

Free Speech vs. Free-for-All

BY NANETTE DEMBITZ

THE attention paid to the case of the eleven Communist leaders has somewhat obscured a trio of Supreme Court decisions on another aspect of the question of free speech. The street-corner soap-box, very symbol of free speech, has emerged from these decisions a less secure platform. Because street corners and public parks have, in the Supreme Court's words, "time out of mind, been used for purposes of assembly, communicating thoughts between citizens, and discussing public questions," the right to use them as public forums is an established part of the constitutional guaranty of free speech. These free, open meeting places are especially valuable to ill-financed minority causes trying to attract converts. But since the speaker addresses himself to the general public, he frequently confronts an unsympathetic or hostile audience. The questions before the court in the recent cases were how far the speaker's delivery of his opinions should be protected in the face of objections from his hearers, and whether the speaker or the audience should be restrained if the objections were so violent that disorder in the streets resulted.

In one case (*Kunz* v. *New York*) a Baptist minister had harangued vigorously against Catholic theology in Columbus Circle in midtown New York, addressing among others the Catholics who traversed this busy public square. Reading from the Bible and other inoffensive printed material, Kunz had interpolated such declarations as "the Pope is the anti-Christ," "Catholicism is the religion of the devil," and "the Catholic church makes merchandise out of souls." A number of Catholics complained to the police about his speeches, and fist fights occurred between Kunz followers and other members of the audience. In *Feiner* v. *New York* a Syracuse University student aroused the belligerent opposition of some of his listeners in a mixed Negro and white audience, as well as open friction between the two elements, by urging Negroes to "fight for their rights." While religion and race were involved in these cases, the issue was how to handle the clash between the speaker and the audience rather than the much-discussed question of whether to suppress speech which is dangerous because of the listeners' responsiveness to a message of racial or religious hatred.

The good health of a democracy undoubtedly requires that fighting at public meetings be prevented; it intensifies antagonisms and undermines public confidence in the value of a free exchange of opinions. On the other hand, some degree of ideological friction, and of the concomitant disorder, must be hazarded, for if truth and progress are to be furthered, preconceptions must be scrutinized, not insulated, and there is more value in disagreement than in conformity.

Confronted with these conflicting interests, the Supreme Court in the recent decisions remained faithful to its tradition of safeguarding civil liberties and emphasized that there should be governmental interference

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with meetings only in cases of actual disorder and no censorship of speeches in advance of delivery. Unfortunately, in the matter of how to handle the disorder, the effect of the court's decisions is to permit the police to suppress a street-corner speaker whenever the opponents of his views are sufficiently bellicose to threaten him with violence: the less tolerant his opponents, the less his right to speak. In the dissenting words of Justice Black, the court, in this phase of the decisions, took a "step toward totalitarianism," and if it is to be reversed, another solution must be sought for the problem of control of speech in public forums.

Justice Douglas

Kunz, the Baptist minister in New York City, and Niemotko, a Jehovah's Witness in Havre de Grace, Maryland, were arrested and convicted for attempting to make speeches in public squares after municipal authorities had refused them permits. In the Havre de Grace case the court held unanimously that the arrest was unconstitutional, the officials having denied the permit merely because they disliked Niemotko and his religious views, not because they feared disorder if he were allowed to speak. The Kunz conviction was likewise overturned and the New York licensing system condemned. But recognizing the reality of the danger of disorder at the Kunz meetings in view of past outbreaks, the court suggested that in lieu of the invalidated permit system New York could make arrests for disorderly conduct if violence threatened. While it is fortunate that the court refused to approve a system for the total suppression of speakers through denial of permits, and while the only feasible method for the control of meetings seems to be through disorderly-conduct arrests, the disturbing aspects of the latter type of control are accentuated by the court's decision in the third case.

Feiner, the Syracuse University student, spoke in a predominantly Negro residential district of Syracuse to announce a speech to be delivered by O. John Rogge at a meeting of the Young Progressives of America in a Syracuse hotel that evening. Feiner protested against the city's revocation of a permit it had originally issued for the holding of the meeting in a public school. It must be granted at the outset that his manner of speaking was puerile and intemperate. But he said nothing more inflammatory than that President Truman and Mayor O'Dwyer were "bums"; the American Legion was "a Nazi Gestapo"; "the Fifteenth Ward is run by corrupt politicians and there are horse rooms operating there"; the Mayor of Syracuse "is a champagne-sipping bum—he does not speak for the Negro people"; and "the Negroes don't have equal rights; they should rise up in arms and fight for their rights."

According to the court's description of the incident, "the crowd was restless and there was some pushing, shoving, and milling around . . . the statements before such a mixed audience 'stirred up a little excitement' . . . some of the onlookers made remarks to the police [two policemen were present] about their inability to handle the crowd . . . there were others who appeared to be favoring . . . [Feiner's] arguments." After Feiner had spoken about twenty minutes, "a man said to the police officers, 'If you don't get that s. o. b. off, I will go over and get him off there myself.' It was then that the police . . . [asked] Feiner to stop speaking." When Feiner continued to urge attendance at the Rogge meeting, he was arrested for disorderly conduct.

As the dissenting justices—Douglas, Minton, and Black—pointed out, the police made no attempt to restrain or disperse the belligerent members of the crowd, not even the man whose threat to assault Feiner precipitated the arrest. The majority of the court, without considering the possibility of this method of averting disorder, upheld Feiner's arrest on the ground that the policemen were apparently motivated by a bona fide desire to preserve order rather than by a desire to suppress Feiner's opinions. But the only justification the opinion offered for the police passivity toward the crowd and hostility to Feiner was the arbitrary statement, without any analysis of Feiner's remarks, that he had engaged in "incitement to riot." A speaker who is inciting to riot—that is, exhorting a crowd to an immediate physical attack—should undoubtedly be suppressed. But it was only the reaction to Feiner's remarks which made them seem inciting. His declaration that Negroes should rise up in arms and fight for their rights was, as Justice Black stated, clearly "rhetorical" in the context of his criticism of the Syracuse authorities and his appeals to attend the Rogge speech. And if the court had evaluated Feiner's remarks in the light of established standards of free speech instead of considering chiefly the reaction of the crowd, it could hardly have condemned as too provocative an appeal to Negroes to fight for equality, even in the presence of a mixed audience, or an appeal for support of the Young Progressives and O. John Rogge. The ballyhoo for the Rogge meeting was prob-

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ably what aroused the crowd's antagonism, though this was emphasized only in Justice Black's dissent.

The Feiner decision marks a disappointing departure from the principle that suppression of the speaker "cannot be made a substitute for the duty to maintain order," a principle which the Supreme Court vigorously asserted when it invalidated Mayor Hague's refusal of a meeting permit to the C. I. O., despite the Mayor's claim that the meeting would cause a riot.

IF THE problem of how to handle disorder at public meetings is to be solved, there must be a clear differentiation between the danger of disorder caused by the listeners' compliance with the speaker's exhortations and the danger of disorder caused by their antagonism to him, as in the Niemotko, Kunz, and Feiner cases. For the latter situation, the limits of a speaker's right to communicate opinions offensive to his listeners must be clearly defined; a criterion will then be available by which to judge whether it is the speaker or the audience against whom the police should act.

The Supreme Court has already established that "insulting or 'fighting words'—those which by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace"—are outside the constitutional protection of free speech when used in personal face-to-face encounters (*Chaplinsky* v. *New Hampshire*). This rule should, as suggested by Justices Douglas and Minton in their dissent in the Feiner case, be extended to street speeches, although it is true that the extension would set a new restraint on speech, since it would curtail the speaker's freedom to persuade listeners other than the subjects of the insulting language. But a belligerent response to personal insults is such an accepted part of our social customs that it would be impossible to enforce a rule that the crowd should be restrained in order to permit a speaker to continue his personal abuse.

The "insulting words" rule must, however, be interpreted narrowly and must not be used to suppress speech which arouses emotion in people merely because they disagree with it. Outlawed speech must be scrupulously limited to disparagement of the personal characteristics of those to whom it is addressed, as in the Chaplinsky case, where the "fighting words" were calling a police officer a "God-damned racketeer" and a "damned Fascist." A declaration to a street-corner audience including American legionnaires that legionnaires are "cowards and traitors" would justify an order to the speaker to desist, but condemnation of the Legion's policies, while it might arouse anger, would not constitute a personal insult warranting the speaker's suppression. As the Supreme Court said in the Terminiello case, invalidating for the sake of the free-speech principle the arrest of a demagogic priest: "A function of free speech under our system of government is to invite discord. It may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger."

Street-corner speaking in particular would be shorn of its essential function as a medium of communication for minorities if it were suppressed merely because it roused opposition and anger. Mere exposition of a view, no matter how temperate the language, may be regarded as a threat or an insult by its rabid opponents, and rouse them to violent protest if majority sentiment supports their belief in the righteousness of their own views and their contempt for the speaker.

Because members of racial and religious groups feel a close and inescapable identification with the group and are so identified in the eyes of others, a personal disparagement of a prominent representative of the group is commonly regarded as attacking the honor of all its members, justifying retaliation by them, and should perhaps be treated as the one exception to the rule that "insulting words" are those which disparage the personal characteristics of the actual listeners. A declaration in a public place in the hearing of Catholics that a high church dignitary is a "crook" would thus be "insulting words," warranting the speaker's suppression. Kunz's anti-Catholic utterances, however, would not have subjected him to arrest, even under this test, for he did not engage in personal aspersions on Catholics but in a theological diatribe. Doubtless his speeches did "outrage the religious sensibilities of others," but if Justice Frankfurter's conclusion that the city could therefore suppress Kunz in order to safeguard "peace in one of the most populous centers of New York City" were accepted, all public theological criticism would be hampered.

The right to use the streets and parks as public forums—so important if minorities are to express themselves and society is to progress through the challenge of their ideas—entails the possibility of antagonistic audiences. Recognizing the need to minimize any resultant disorder in the streets but rejecting both a speech-licensing system and indiscriminate suppression of the speaker as in the Feiner case, the writer suggests that the insulting-words test, administered by police specially schooled for the supervision of street meetings and subject of course to court review, would provide appropriate protection for the right of free speech and at the same time a workable pattern for the control of street meetings. The police effort required to protect a speaker who observes the prescribed limit may seem ill expended when his message is falling on ears closed by hostility, particularly if it has little apparent social value. But protection of the right to express opinions cannot depend upon their reception or their merit without the right becoming a precarious privilege held at the mercy of its opponents or of governmental power to proscribe thoughts.

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South Africa: Racist Caldron

BY R. K. COPE

Cape Town, South Africa

CRAWLING across a thousand miles of dry, cold veld, the "zoo" trains take back South Africa's legislators and every species of official from the parliamentary capital, Cape Town, to the bureaucratic stronghold of the country, Pretoria. In the satchels of the ministers is a fresh batch of oppressive laws forced through the world's most undemocratic legislature by methods which have sent a chill of alarm into every section of the nation except the small, cast-iron minority in control. Together with the other statutes piled up since Dr. Malan's Nationalists gained power in 1948, the new measures virtually complete the blueprint for turning South Africa into one vast slave-labor camp.

While Parliament was in session, the Dutch Reformed churches dogmatized that the right to vote was a privilege given by God and could be rightly exercised only by civilized Christians. The definition cut out all persons of African race and all "colored" persons. The pattern of events became clear: another general advance on all fronts was being opened by the Broederbond, the secret society of the Nationalist leadership which is steering the country toward its goal of a one-party, one-race, one-language fascist dictatorship.

The Dutch Reformed churches look after the theocratic and "spiritual" operations of the Broederbond. In their eyes a Christian is an Afrikaner Calvinist or one who accepts the "mastership" (*baasskap*) of the Afrikaners. With the Calvinist God barring the non-white races from democratic rights, the political wing of the Broederbond got busy in Parliament to force through laws to this effect.

One law disfranchised the million-strong minority of mixed or colored race, though they have a considerable common ancestry with the white Afrikaners and have enjoyed the vote for a hundred years, evidently in ignorance of the Divine will. This law was passed in violation of the South African constitution, which under historical "intrenched clauses" requires a two-thirds' majority for any change in the political rights of the colored people. The colored minority lose their vote but will be allowed to send four white representatives to Parliament.

A striking feature of the opposition to the colored-disfranchisement bill was a nation-wide outburst of demonstrations led by white veterans of the Second World War who had helped smash fascism and Nazism from Abyssinia to the River Po. Hundreds of thousands of people paraded through the streets of the cities. Brown and black marched at the side of white ex-soldiers for the first time since they had sweated across North Africa and up through Italy. They marched at night, carrying torches. There was something desperate and ominous about it. The red, smoky flares of diesel oil were patches of light against an all-embracing blackness.

The movement was headed, briefly, by a many-times-decorated ace pilot of the Battle of Britain—one of Churchill's "few"—with the same name as the Prime Minister. Group-Captain Malan—"Sailor" Malan, he is called—left his farm in the semi-arid diamond district of Kimberley to run itself while he stumped the country. He felt he had a mission and burned like a new Savonarola to purge the people of the wickedness which had seized them. In his eyes they were guilty of the same fascism he had fought in the skies over England.

But "Sailor" Malan's fiery enthusiasm was snuffed out by a whisper. Group-Captain Malan is playing the red game, he is a red, said the Nationalists. The war ace was nonplussed. Astute vote-catching politicians of the official opposition, the United Party of the late Marshal Smuts, exploited him. They wrote logic-chopping speeches for him that put him on the defensive. The flames fizzled out. But not before the government's police had smashed into demonstrators outside the Parliament building and filled Cape Town's casualty bays with battered heads.

Dr. Malan, of course, had introduced the yearly instalment of anti-red legislation in Parliament. The latest act enables the government without trial or inquiry to brand as a Communist anyone who at any time, even fifty years ago, advocated any of the objects of communism. Definition of a Communist is virtually anyone the government says is a Communist. Once so branded, a man may be banished or deprived of his civil rights. He has no recourse to the courts. Nobody who has ever opened his mouth in public is safe unless he kotows to Malan, as one notorious ex-Communist does—and has been rewarded with a seat in the Senate.

The witch-hunt started immediately with an investigation of the newspaper *Guardian* by a board of three Afrikaners. The paper has been a consistent opponent of the Nationalists and champion of the colored people.

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Its suppression is regarded as certain. Every other newspaper can see that it faces the fate of Argentina's *Prensa*: either bend the knee to Baal or be liquidated. During the debates on this bill one of the leading Nationalist anti-Semites, von Moltke, said that if clergymen preached the Christian doctrine of equality of all men, thereby encouraging communism, they should be brought to heel. The objections of Marshal Smuts's former Minister of Justice, the Honorable Harry Lawrence, were answered by the raucous jibe of a back-bencher: "In ten years you'll be hanged!"

The government party is exerting intimidation through a Press Commission. Among the purposes of the commission is to inquire into the activities of foreign correspondents who keep the outside world informed of what goes in South Africa. Dr. Malan is enraged that the great newspapers of the world presume to criticize his policy. The correspondents can perhaps be brought into line, but the world press has only to use his own words or to quote the text of successive Nazi-like laws. The Prime Minister has declared he will secede from the British Commonwealth and set up a rump republic if the British papers do not cease their criticism. He hates the United Nations and finds himself uncomfortable in a world that is two-thirds colored. He would like to secede from the world. He has his own Monroe Doctrine. He wants all Africa safe for the white-Herrenvolk creed of the Broederbond. The 150,000,000 dark folk of the north give him nightmares.

THE Nationalists' plans for the black man emerged clearly during the six months of Parliament's session. In defiance of a resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, Malan officially proclaimed the Group Areas Act, known as the ghetto law. By this measure all races are eventually to be separated and bolted and barred from any contact with one another—except that between white master and black servant. The proclamation has had no effect as yet save to paralyze thousands of property transactions because nobody knows where the ghettos will be.

Three more bills followed: one to tighten up generally the labor bondage of the black man, another to push him back into a parody of primitive tribalism, and a third empowering white owners of land to uproot black families settled on it. "The government makes us like homeless birds in our own country," said a Xhosa leader in Cape Town. More ominous was the remark of a Zulu leader in Natal, "I look upon myself as a defeated person who will one day win back his freedom despite the barriers set up by political legislation." Senator W. G. Ballinger, the Native Representative in Parliament, complained bitterly that the so-called "slave-labor bill" was "a measure to tighten up in every respect the laws that are now grinding so harshly upon the native people of this country." This bill was held over until next year.

The most subtly repressive of the three bills is the Bantu Tribal Authorities Act, which attempts to revive the shattered functions of primitive tribal society. But tribal society was pagan. Its cohesion was insured by ancestor-worship based on a semi-nomadic, and hence warlike, cattle culture. The Bantu today are very largely Christian; they have no freedom of movement; they are disarmed, defenseless, and for the most part landless. The Nationalists would specifically deny the black man the rights conferred by education and Christianity. Stripped of verbiage, the Tribal Authorities Act uses the black man for his own undoing. It is the Nazi technique of the infamous *Judenrat*. From their ghettos, the phony tribal authorities will be expected to deliver up their people for labor, taxation, or any purpose for which they are wanted. No wonder the Bantu leaders are considering steps to defeat the working of the law. In Natal Province the militant African Congress signalized a new phase of solidarity against the oppressor by electing to its leadership a Zulu chief, A. J. Luthulie.

Prime Minister Malan

Dr. Malan's government has a pathetic faith in the efficacy of laws. Every problem, it believes, from sexual immorality to thought control, can be solved by passing an act. But laws too often remain mere paper while the intractable reality is untouched—the reality of a small, hated white minority imbedded in the vital mass of Africa's millions.

The awakening of Africa is inevitable. Here are peoples of undreamed-of talents, resources, and solidarity. The achievements of individual Negroes in the New World indicate their capacities. It is not strange that the Malan government bans American Negro publications and prevents the importation of films or magazines showing Negroes in positions of equal dignity with whites.

Christianity for Africans is an original experience. It lives among them as a deep and palpable faith, gaining emotional power, no doubt, by a tinge of more naive beliefs inherited from pagan forefathers. Theirs is a primitive Christianity in the sense that it is equalitarian, the creed of the oppressed. Freedom is no sleazy catchword to these people but a passion that stirs them with gathering force. And Malanism is the extreme expression of what stands between Africa and freedom.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Cylon's Thread

ROADS TO AGREEMENT. By Stuart Chase in Collaboration with Marian Tyler Chase. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

BEFORE Solon, the adherents of the would-be tyrant, Cylon, were pursued by a crowd and found sanctuary with Athena on the Acropolis. Persuaded to come down and stand trial, they took care to attach a thread to the statue of Athena and unroll it behind them. At some distance from the shrine the thread broke. The crowd interpreted this as a repudiation of the thread-bearers by the goddess, and killed them. A later historian, however, saw the break as pure chance, a matter of a defect in the thread. We have somewhat the same problem of interpretation today as we survey changing fashions in leadership. Perhaps our growing revolt against strong-man-leadership patterns is based on a feeling that such leadership is no longer smiled on by the fates of the American scene. Would it be a better interpretation to say that strong-man leadership in American business and social life simply had its magic thread of public relations broken by depressions and wars?

Stuart Chase, in his studies of human groups, is shrewd enough not to commit himself to an opinion. It may be that simple breaks in communication threw the Morgans and the Teddy Roosevelts off the scene, along with their cult of the strong man, before their usefulness was ended. Whatever the causes, much of our older dependence on a strong "line organization" is slipping away. We have now set up the slogan of "participation"—partly because older top-methods of group organization appear to be ineffective, partly because we wish to repudiate coercion and organize ourselves in terms of persuasions.

The problem is to assess Chase's book for what it is: a popularization of many, though not all, of the studies made of group productivity and leadership between, say, efficiency expert Frederick Taylor and the last paper by a "group dynamist." The desirability of group agreement is suggested by Chase in a variety of references to unsolved conflicts ranging from the struggle over the issue of world sovereignty down to the plant dispute. His own scheme for discussing this matter is to emphasize three "tools" in human relationships—group dynamics, semantics, and "the culture concept borrowed from anthropology."

As a report of these disciplines and of their acceptance by some more or less sophisticated Americans, the book stands as a neat counterstatement to a work like Dale Carnegie's "How To Make Friends and Influence People." For Carnegie the catchword is individualism, and the theme is manipulation; in Chase the catchword is group action, and the theme is rational agreement. The foreign observer might find in both books an American worship of "contacts," resting on our old assumption that we belong in some way to a mystical body social with which we all should be in touch. The approach to this rite in Chase's work is by way of a Stoic sense of the brotherhood of any group of disputants. The approach in Carnegie might well be identified as Epicurean: the world is full of people with bad tempers and sales resistance; so you had better learn to walk on eggs and avoid tests of basic differences. Chase's outlook is far more attractive to Americans who think that a developed and tolerated difference of opinion is more essential in social life than a developed indifference to taking a stand.

Are the three disciplines referred to by Chase being used to report on the state of our social imagination, or are they being employed as substitutes for it? Group dynamics seems to assume that the form and content of group discussion are somehow identical—then proceeds to repudiate this formula by abstracting "mood" as a cause of agreement or disagreement. Perhaps group dynamics moves toward a clinical formulation of a certain American conversational pattern—the pattern by which, as a British observer has noted, no conversation can advance until every member of the group feels that all the others are aware of what each is committing himself to. The emphasis on the personal equation reminds us of frontier etiquette, when the stranger introduced himself in a new community by carefully saying: "I'm an *ornery* soft-money man," or "I'm one of those *touchy* Grangers," or whatever it happened to be. By this etiquette, an organized difference of philosophy and politics was represented by each stranger as his personal quirkiness, not to be taken too seriously by the other party over a drink or a picnic table.

The employment of semantic self-controls also raises interesting questions. The threat of a bad-tempered disregard for verbal definitions lies behind a hankering for semantic controls, which are supposed to operate like the sprinklers in a department store when the fire starts. The intended application of a discipline like semantics somehow reminds us of childhood experiences when we said "No'm" for "No Ma'am" and then were sharply told that "Nome is a city in Alaska." So much that is badly worded can be well understood—and therefore must be not so badly said—that one wonders whether definitional impurity is the real bane of American discourse. Even if it is, perhaps the best we can hope for is that the Korzybskian and related logics will help to reduce our infatuation with arguments based on high-flown universal propositions. Meanwhile, the paradox in the application of the certifiably "semantic" interchange in conversation and discussion is that it can stop interchange dead in a society that has few common cultural concerns and is hardly needed in a society that has them.

The "culture concept borrowed from the anthropologists" raises still other questions. In the long run it may prove to be one of the concepts by which intellectuals come closest to exerting an influence on the whole American society. Those who are familiar with the concept seem to be of two minds about how it is being employed. Some observers are inclined to think that it is another one of the intellectual disci-

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plines by which a group comes to power, as lawyers came to power by their craft control of legal decision. It is possible today for a government official or a business man to affect a political and economic decision by voicing an opinion on its cultural content. Still others are inclined to emphasize that a popularization of the cultural concept is an intellectual weapon in the fight for social hygiene in matters like race conflict and rural and urban differences. In any event, the increasingly widespread American taste for observing and accepting cultural differences seems to suggest that the anthropologists are not necessarily very far ahead of public opinion in their taste for cultural pluralism.

At a time when self-identification in America appears to rest less and less on class attitudes and more and more on cultural and consumer attitudes, Chase's anthology of experiments in group harmony is highly relevant. For example, it points implicitly toward the discomfort that people can feel when they are forced off class standards while playing their parts in a group. Moreover, as a "how to" manual, it is a lucid summary of a variety of ways in which transitional stages in the art of common consent can be pioneered without panic. In short, the book stands on secure Jacksonian grounds in its formulation of one essential problem of power: when we permit old forms of decision-making to languish, we let ourselves in for the job of creating new ones.

REUEL DENNEY

A Critic's Diaries

THE LATER EGO. By James Agate. Introduction and Notes by Jacques Barzun. Crown Publishers. $4.

JAMES AGATE was, among other things, drama critic for the London Sunday *Times*. Like our own Woollcott, Broun, and Hammond but unlike most of the present-day New York critics, he dramatized his role, played it to the hilt, and very much enjoyed being somebody in his own special world. Equipped with stick, homburg, and eyeglasses, he liked so well to drink champagne for lunch in the right cafes that he was seldom more than barely solvent, but he was also a prodigious worker who boasted that in twenty-five years he had written seven million words, or about twice as much as Balzac, which meant, so he said, that he had put in eleven hours' work a day, not counting the time it took to see the plays and movies or to read the books he reviewed. A side issue was a diary published in nine instalments called "Ego 1," "Ego 2," and so on, which he continued up to four days before his death at seventy, or until ten days after he had caught his best friend in a restaurant composing an obituary for the press. Apparently the diaries were widely read in England, and the present volume—composed of the last two of the original nine—is a six-hundred-page sample for America.

The "Egos" have been compared to Pepys' "Diary" and to Arnold Bennett's "Journal." To some extent they do resemble the latter, partly because Agate and Bennett were above everything else professionals whose ruling passion was a professional interest in the professional world of arts and letters. Neither comparison is, however, particularly apt, if for no other reason than the fact that even Bennett's "Journal" was not intended to reach the public's eye during the author's lifetime, while Agate's calls to mind a line from one of his own favorite plays: "It's only a young girl's diary and therefore intended for publication." What the reader actually gets is something more like a collection of American "columns." There are references to friends, records of wisecracks, comments on current plays, movies, and books, letters to or from unknown correspondents, and occasional short discourses on the diarist's pet subjects—which include the greatness of Bernhardt, Irving, and Dickens, as well as the folly of all avant-garde playwrights, poets, painters, and musicians. Agate, though highbrow enough in his own somewhat Edwardian way, was never completely won over even by Shaw and saw little in either T. S. Eliot or Christopher Fry.

He manages to give the impression that he got about quite extensively, but perhaps the fact that he worked so hard at his writing trade made it impossible for him actually to observe as much of even his chosen milieu as he would have needed to observe to compose quite that complete abstract and brief chronicle of his time which his more enthusiastic admirers give him credit for. Certainly the "Egos" do exhibit the limitations imposed by a mind active and honest rather than profound or original and a style practiced and competent rather than great. But after all allowances have been made, "The Later Ego" is still a very readable, very entertaining mélange. When Clifton Fadiman complains that Charles Morgan writes tripe without knowing it, Agate is characteristically malicious enough to say of his colleague: "What nonsense! Our Charles is magnificently unreadable, but he doesn't write tripe. If I had to use a culinary metaphor it would be the funeral baked meats served up to the sorrowing relatives of a dead duke." But perhaps the best comeback recorded in the volume is not Mr. Agate's. Of the just arrived John Mason Brown he demanded, "Why do you Americans, delightful individually, add up to a nation of twerps?" "All right, Agate. Why, with you Britishers, is the converse the case?"

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Gide and Freedom

THE JOURNALS OF ANDRE GIDE. Volume IV: 1939-1949. Translated from the French, with an Introduction and Notes, by Justin O'Brien. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.

GIDE is not really one of the greatest critics or thinkers. But, if we can now read him candidly, it is impossible not to see in this last volume of journals a valuable and engaging exercise of the mind. An "elderly Faust" in his eighth decade may be expected to speak sometimes in a dry voice; the famous Gidean austerity occasionally breaks down into mere dulness or querulousness. But the whole effect is of vigor, of a dedicated concern for the free life of mind, of a capacity for observation too rich for a review even to suggest. There is nothing presumptuous in Gide's claim of descent from Montaigne and Goethe.

What of Gide's much-advertised "defeatism"? There is no doubt that in 1940 he felt, with France, defeated, that he thought militant resistance "premature," and that the situation revived in his mind what he had always considered to be the great possibilities of Franco-German cooperation. These journals reinforce one's impression that much of what is most dubious as well as most admirable in Gide's thought has to be traced back to his residual Calvinism. In his attitude of "acceptance" he sometimes tried to believe that sinful France —given over to "softness, surrender, relaxation in grace and ease, so many charming qualities that were to lead us, blindfolded, to defeat"—actually deserved Hitler. I should think that the worst that can be said of Gide on this score is that in 1940 he indulged in fantasies of self-castigation and self-abnegation which, though their purpose was to make possible a Promethean rebirth of France—a spiritual return after a spiritual withdrawal—were dangerous in their political implications. Certainly one is annoyed at the repeated "I will try to convince myself that art, that thought itself, will lose . . . through excessive freedom." And at this, the low point of the journals: "Oppression cannot debase the best; and as for the others, it matters little. Hurrah for thought held in check! The world can be saved solely by the few. It is in non-liberal epochs that the free mind achieves the highest virtue." This is the desperately irrational side of a partly Calvinist attitude which, in different terms, leads to statements much more admirable: "Liberty seems to me deserved solely by the man who could utilize it for an end other than himself or who would demand of himself some exemplary development." By the end of 1940 Gide repudiated his own pessimism, though not his "witnessing" against the "decay of France," and his mind began to work with a more vigorous clarity.

As a whole the journals are a plea for the continuation of art and of thought and a searching out of the grounds upon which this may be possible in that probable future when "art will give way to a *common* well-being; when what is individual will cease to have a justification and will be ashamed of itself." He affirms the moral life—"the feeling of *duty* confers a sort of benediction on every deed accomplished"; yet he insists that a continuously moralistic criticism easily distorts and misunderstands art, since the point of view of "the priest and the major-general can coincide with that of the poet only most accidentally." This is not "aestheticism"; it is a recognition on the one hand that art has its own integrity and on the other that art requires not only passion but dispassion and relaxation, a graceful animal relatedness to nature: "Art inhabits temperate regions. And doubtless the greatest harm this war is doing to culture is to create a profusion of extreme passions which, by a sort of inflation, brings about a devaluation of all moderate sentiments."

Gide is not remarkably original as a thinker. Yet his thought has the elements of a durable vitality. He remains untouched by the fiercely irrational religious and secular ideologies of the war. He reasserts a naturalist position, and though he insists that one must retain the idea of the "soul" he cannot conceive of a life of the soul after the death of the body, the soul being in some sense analogous to the phosphorescence produced by decaying matter. He realigns himself with the traditional French dialogue of the mind which has characteristically matched a Montaigne with a Pascal, Bossuet with Molière, Racine with Hugo, Claudel with Valéry. This dialectical naturalism is stiffened and strengthened by a Calvinist severity which, although it remains imperfectly constituted as an idea, does lend to Gide's thought a beneficial sense of necessity and a consequent respect, and indeed a reverence, for disinterested action, for "gratuitousness."

To a letter from a young man who had regarded Gide as his mentor, who had found existentialism a "terrifying absurdity," and who came to feel the need of "new masters," Gide answers, "Why seek 'new masters'? Catholicism or communism demands, or at least advocates, submission of the mind. Worn out by yesterday's struggle, young men (and many of their elders) seek and think they have found, in that very submission, rest, assurance, and intellectual comfort. . . . The world will be saved, if it can be, only by the *unsubmissive*."

There are several honorable alternatives to the Gidean view of things. Yet, the world being what it is, the most powerful alternative is to be heard in the words of a certain Giovoni, addressed to the Commissioner for Information in Tunis, where Gide lived for several months during the war: "André Gide . . . who has exercised such a murky influence over young minds, indulges in defeatism in the midst of the war. His craze for originality and exoticism, his immoralism and his perversity make him a dangerous individual. Today literature is a weapon. That is why I demand prison for André Gide."

RICHARD CHASE

Books in Brief

MIRACLE AT KITTY HAWK. The Letters of Wilbur and Orville Wright. Edited by Fred C. Kelly. Farrar, Straus, and Young. $6. For pure inspiration this beats all the Horatio Algers and Oliver Optics ever written, for it tells, in their own words, the story of two young mechanics who by study, patience, and ingenuity solved a problem that had baffled the best minds—the problem of human flight—and overnight were catapulted to fame and fortune. Somehow the fact that while sweating it out alone on the sands of Kitty Hawk, with the stakes so high

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and the odds so heavily against them, they still wore their stiff white collars and their ties is an integral part of the picture both of the men and of the period.

THE CONTINUITY OF POETIC LANGUAGE: Studies in English Poetry from the 1540's to the 1940's. By Josephine Miles. University of California Press. $5. This big heavy book might have been so dull, a work of laborious scholarship, all that counting of words, that tabulation of the proportions of noun-adjective-verb, through five centuries, twenty poets a century, a thousand lines per poet. It is, on the contrary, a most engrossing study, made so not only by the thoroughness of the research but also by the modesty, perceptiveness, good sense, and good writing of the researcher. Looking at the work of the prominent poets of each period, Miss Miles has been able to establish a basic vocabulary for each period, to show how this vocabulary both persists and varies in the next, and to interpret the shifts of sensitivity that these changes reflect. The tables, in themselves, are fascinating; and the text, which amplifies, explains, diverges now and then, disavows perfection, and directs delight, is illuminating and refreshing. A most interesting job.

THE MEANING OF SHAKESPEARE. By Harold C. Goddard. The University of Chicago. $6. As an act of filial or parochial devotion it was once the custom to bring out posthumously a volume of sermons by a beloved pastor, accompanied by laudations of his simple piety by other wearers of the cloth. It was a gracious custom because so little calculated to impose upon anyone. One may speak only praise of "The Meaning of Shakespeare" if the volume is viewed as a traditional memorial to Professor Goddard, for it preserves the tones of a devout reader and earnest teacher. Its three chapters of generalization and thirty-three chapters of comment on separate plays, although associated *pensées* rather than articulated essays, will bring a nostalgic pleasure to those who knew the author in their youth; that they have a claim upon other readers, or genuine significance as literary criticism, cannot in honesty be affirmed.

Films

MANNY FARBER

"THE FROGMEN," in which Richard Widmark wins the latter part of World War II under water, is a new type of movie experience roughly equivalent to reading "Tom Swift" in Braille at the bottom of a well. While examining the strokes, breathing apparatus, and demolition tactics of the navy's warfaring bathing beauties, it unwinds a boyishly heroic tale beneath the Pacific in middle-distance shots that make the story as hard to see as a recent dillie called "The Long Dark Hall," which was shot without electric lights in a dark walnut courtroom. One virtue of 20th-Century-Fox films is that they are cast with manly males of the advertising-executive type who reject the kind of pansy-brained, masochistic, floor-walker's poetic technique that has become a lauded acting style in most Hollywood films.

"Ace in the Hole"—an ex-G. I., crazy for Indian relics, is pinned down in a cave fall-in, with sand dribbling in his face, while a sensationalist reporter keeps him there for the sake of a gaudy news story—is built chiefly round the acting of a tough, corrupt newshound by Kirk Douglas. Douglas plays it in the worst style of the Yiddish theater, bursting with self-pity, slowing everything with a muscular, tensed-up technique, and ranting as though he were trying to break the hearts of people blocks away from the theater. His conceited hamming is pretty typical of the whole show, in spite of a well-cast Albuquerque contractor, a reasonably well-cast floozy (Jan Sterling) who makes a nice nasty thing of riffling some currency in Douglas's face, a few beautiful long shots of the carnival that blossoms at the scene of the tragedy. These last make up in very small part for Producer Wilder's dreadful, misanthropic, corny depiction of the rubber-neckers gathered for the kill and of "hicks" whose provincialism consists of not being hep to chopped liver or Yogi Berra.

Joseph Losey, the left-wing naturalistic director of two excitingly candid films, "M" and "The Prowler," is an ambivalent citizen who loathes the

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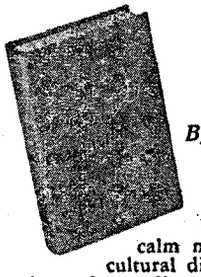

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cupidity, sadism, and prejudices of his fellow-men, and lovingly borrows the best things they have done with a camera. In his remake of "M" the discriminating Losey makes good use of, among other things, Lang's morose camera set-ups and lighting, the architectonic design and subjects of Walker Evans's photographs, and the eerie handling of carnival freaks, last seen in a good "B" called "Woman in Hiding." "M" provides a sensitive if unimaginative evening, whose major asset is David Wayne's somewhat overharassed acting of an elegantly hysterical psychopath. However, in "The Prowler," which catalogues a cop's hot pursuit of a frightened wife and his disposal of her disc-jockey husband, Losey has perfected his taut, dry naturalism to the point where he has turned out a near "sleeper" held down only by its mimicries, all less snappy than the models from "Double Indemnity," "Greed," and so on.

"He Ran All the Way" is an old-fashioned gangster film (no message or Freudian overtones; fairly intense and exciting) about an inept hooligan (Garfield) who shacks up, unwanted, with a tenement family. This family, generalized with dull virtues, never tries to find out what makes the gangster tick but just stands around scared to death. The locale, dialects, architecture are a puzzling mish-mash of Bronx, Venice, Cal., and Group Theater. The film takes place entirely in a railroad flat, where, despite the fact that the ceilings seem to have been removed and the doors left off all rooms so as to allow for camera movement, the energy comes entirely from emotionally congested acting which appears to have worked its way down through a hundred plays and movies from "Awake and Sing," an earlier and better Garfield show.

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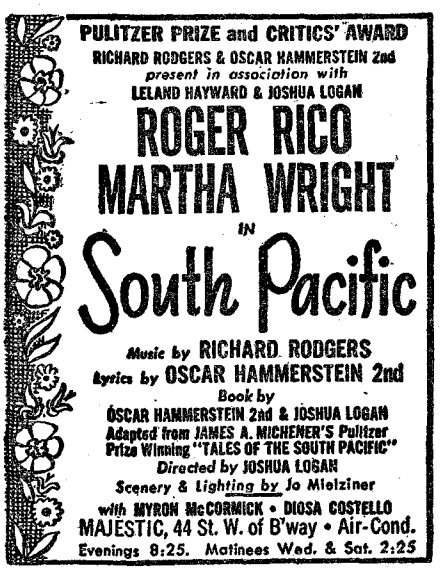
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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ANOTHER and better recording has been issued of the marvelous Mozart Piano Concerto K.453 that I reported was so poorly played by Hambro and the Oklahoma City Symphony. This time Ralph Kirkpatrick plays with unusual sensitiveness on a reproduction of a late-eighteenth-century piano, and the Dumbarton Oaks Chamber Orchestra is conducted by Alexander Schneider. With the fast movements paced a little slowly it is a quietly, almost soberly sensitive performance of music one of whose outstanding characteristics is a sharp-witted, exuberant animation that rises to incandescent brilliance. On the same record the smaller-scale Violin Concerto K.218 is well played by Schneider (Haydn Society).

In another marvelous work, Haydn's Symphony No. 104, the Vienna Symphony plays well under Scherchen, and the first movement is effectively paced; but the second movement suffers from one of Scherchen's excessively slow tempos, and the latter movements from his tendency to slow down tempos. The Symphony No. 55 on the same record I find inconsequential (Westminster).

Two other early Haydn symphonies, Nos. 52 and 56, have a few impressive pages but are for the most part undistinguished. They are well played by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra and Vienna Symphony under Heiller; in No. 56 the violin sound is sharp and the surface defective (Haydn Society).

Though they don't equal the superb Concerti Grossi Opus 6 Handel's six Concerti Opus 3 and his "Alexander's Feast" Concerto are fine works for the most part, and are excellently played by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Prohaska (Bach Guild through Vanguard). There is fine music also in the orchestral suite from Handel's oratorio "The Triumph of Time and Truth," but more than seems able to hold together by itself. It is well played by the Vienna Orchestral Society under Fekete; treble must be reduced to minimum (Period).

Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony is well performed by Fricsay with the Berlin Philharmonic; surfaces are a little noisy (Decca). His Serenade for strings Opus 48 is well performed by Schmidt-Isserstedt with NWDR Symphony of Hamburg; there is a loss of brilliance near the center of the record, and surfaces are a little noisy (Decca).

I heard a Sinfonietta of Janacek years ago that I thought magnificent; but his "Taras Bulba" and Suite for strings I find insignificant (Westminster).

In the first four movements of his Piano Concerto No. 5—well played by Alfred Brendel and the Vienna Symphony under Sternberg—Prokofiev seems to me to be filling out time with the resources of his style; only in the fifth movement does he seem to operate with real ideas. Nor do I care for the Sonata No. 5 and the three small pieces from Opus 12, well played by Hans Graf. Treble must be reduced; surfaces are gritty (Period).

Stravinsky's engaging Capriccio for piano and orchestra is excellently played by Monique Haas and the RIAS Symphony under Fricsay (with Ravel's Piano Concerto; Decca).

The first two movements and a *grazioso* episode in the third movement of Bartok's Violin Sonata No. 1—excellently played by Isaac Stern and Alexander Zakin—are in the idiom which makes no musical sense to me; but the third begins with material derived from folk dance that is understandable and impressive (Columbia). Similar harsh, powerful, and skilful treatment of folk material is heard in the Rhapsody No. 1, which is played well by Janos Starker, cello, and Otto Herz, piano (with Kodaly's Sonata Opus 4 and Weiner's "Lakodalmas"; Program).

Sessions's Duo for violin and piano is in another idiom which makes no musical sense to me; Ives's Sonata No. 2 for violin and piano, on the same record, hops from one thing to another

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in the usual unintegrated succession. Both are well played by Patricia Travers and Otto Herz (Columbia).

And here is a report on other works I don't care for:

Debussy's Violin Sonata. Well played, except for an occasional wail, by Heifetz and Bay (Victor).

Debussy's Cello Sonata. Well played by Marcel Hubert and Harold Dart. With Franck's Sonata, in which the sound of the upper range of the cello is not agreeable. Treble must be reduced; surfaces are gritty (Allegro).

Dvorak's String Quintet Opus 97. Well played by the Budapest Quartet and Katims. Treble must be stepped up; the sound lacks warmth and luster (Columbia).

Brahms's Piano Quartet Opus 26. Well played by the Albeneri Trio and assisting viola. The piano sounds dull, the strings brash and edged (Mercury).

Brahms's String Sextet Opus 18. Well played by the Vienna Konzerthaus Quartet and assisting artists. Treble must be stepped up (Westminster).

Brahms's Piano Trio in A—a posthumously discovered early work, less accomplished and for that reason less objectionable than later ones. Well played by a Viennese group (Westminster).

Beethoven's Violin Sonata Opus 30 No. 2. Played simply and well by Heifetz and Bay (Victor).

Beethoven's String Trios Opus 9 Nos. 2 and 3. Beautifully played by the Pasquier Trio; recorded sound hard and brash (Allegro).

CONTRIBUTORS

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JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, Brander Matthews professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University, is the drama critic of *The Nation* (now on leave). He is the author of "Samuel Johnson," "The Twelve Seasons," and other books.

RICHARD CHASE, a member of the English Department at Columbia University, is the author of "Quest for Myth" and "Herman Melville: A Critical Study." He will publish in the fall a critical biography of Emily Dickinson.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Korean's Plea

[*The following letter is from a Korean who came to the United States after the liberation of his country from the Japanese.*]

Dear Sirs: In Korea we prayed fervently for a victory of the Allies over Japan. And we trusted that this victory would bring a peaceful world in which we could at last find our rightful place and enjoy a decent human life. I remember so clearly the day I welcomed the American G. I.'s in my poor English. I saw Korean shopkeepers give fruit to the soldiers and little children run to them offering flowers. However, we soon discovered that America and its Allies had not liberated our land but divided it.

As time went on, our divided land experienced lowered production, a rapid drop in the national income, a disorganized economy, and a terrible inflation. We also saw the pro-Japanese who had fought our liberators regain favored positions. Although the American Military Government failed to create conditions favorable to the growth of democracy, it insisted that we must be democratic and free. I sometimes think that if the United States had created democratic conditions many American lives would have been saved.

Of course, the large-scale attack in June, 1950, was initiated by the North Koreans, but I do not think the war was the result of this single act. The war in Korea was a violent manifestation of deep-lying ailments. In 1945 the pressure of many forces for basic changes in the structure of our society was quite evident. What was needed was a program to harness these forces and by their effort bring about peaceful change. Unfortunately, the pent-up social forces in Korea were linked to international power politics, and there was violent disagreement about the implementation of the necessary reforms.

In spite of the fact that the war is waged on Korean soil, and that Koreans are the ones who have suffered most, no one pays the slightest attention to the wishes of the Korean people. Contrary to the nicely phrased statements of Mr. Truman, the recent testimony given in Washington shows no concern for the future of the Korean people.

And now comes Mr. Malik with a proposal for a cease-fire in Korea after the death of millions of his fellow-Communists. This is the very Mr. Malik who refused to use his good offices to prevail upon the North Koreans to stop their attack, and who registered little enthusiasm toward earlier proposals to end the Korean war. Does this indicate a willingness on the Soviet Union's part to desert its comrades when it sees fit to do so?

As a Korean I cannot welcome a cease-fire which does not lead to a unified and democratic Korea; yet I feel that we must accept a cease-fire as a beginning, for further bloodshed and devastation would put an end to any hope for a truly democratic Korea. Instead of restoring a weak Korea, buffeted about by two powers, I propose a neutralized Korea, not a part, but the whole of Korea. Both powers, and the Chinese, should get out, and north and south disarm.

The United Nations should then provide the social engineering to reconstruct Korea as the product of a peaceful revolution. If the U. N. should side with the counter-revolutionary forces in the name of peace and order, then, even though it might stop aggression for a time, I see no further hope for the U. N.

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Prisoners of Conscience

Dear Sirs: The Nation has an excellent record of reminding its readers of points at which United States democracy needs to be strengthened. Racial prejudice, loyalty oaths, and the like have been given the needed spotlight of publicity. But I would like to see it examine the problem of conscientious objectors in this country. Although respect for individual conscience, religious expression, and political freedom is theoretically basic to democracy, for

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the last twelve years there have been men in prison because they could not conscientiously participate in military preparations.

These men are in prison for their religious or philosophical beliefs. With selective service extended for four years and probably to be followed by universal military training, we face the possibility of having our prison population permanently include prisoners of conscience.

Is prison the only answer democracy has for these men? Cannot we tolerate within our society the microscopic percentage of men whose beliefs forbid participation in war and conscription?

The conscientious violators of the Selective Service Act usually fit into one of three general categories:

1. The absolutists who refuse to cooperate to any degree with selective service. These men do not register, or they register and then refuse to fill out classification questionnaires or to report for physical examinations.

2. Men unable to obtain conscientious-objector classification (IV-E). These men are either arbitrarily considered insincere by the Selective Service System, or they do not fit the narrow definition of the law. They obey all orders except the induction notice.

3. Jehovah's Witnesses unable to obtain ministerial classification (IV-D). J. W.'s feel that they are ministers and that their primary responsibility is their religious work. Over 4,000 members of this group went to prison during World War II.

It is frequently erroneously proclaimed that the United States is more liberal in its provisions for conscientious objectors than any other country in the world. The Commission on Human Rights for the United Nations Economic and Social Council made a report on the legal provisions for C. O.'s in countries with conscription. In this report, issued March 30, 1950, twelve countries were listed as having provisions for objectors. The United States was the only country with such provisions which limited C. O. rights to persons who took the position on religious grounds. Some countries grant absolute exemption for absolutist objectors. The United States does not.

LYLE TATUM, Executive Secretary,
Central Committee for
Philadelphia Conscientious Objectors

A Relativist Rebuked

Dear Sirs: The philosophy advocated by Professor Buchler in his review of my book, "The Rise of Scientific Philosophy" in *The Nation* of June 30 is precisely the kind of philosophy against which my book is directed and which I regard as responsible for the divorce between science and philosophy. I am not astonished at this sort of reaction, which does not represent a logical argument but merely expresses emotional irritation. If my view is correct, many conceptions that present-day philosophers still regard as sacred are no longer tenable. No wonder that my book arouses the antagonism of those who have regarded these conceptions as exempt from doubt.

I think nothing prevents an understanding of traditional philosophical systems more than the relativism advocated by Professor Buchler. He quotes a sentence from my book concerning the various equivalent descriptions of the phenomena of quantum physics, and wishes to extend it to a general equivalence of all philosophical systems. This is an example of a kind of fallacy in which traditional philosophy is abundant. It is the extension of certain well-defined concepts of scientific inquiry to vague usage in philosophical discourse. I wrote my book to warn philosophers that unless they disavow relativism and turn to precise forms of language they will never win the approval of scientists.

New York HANS REICHENBACH

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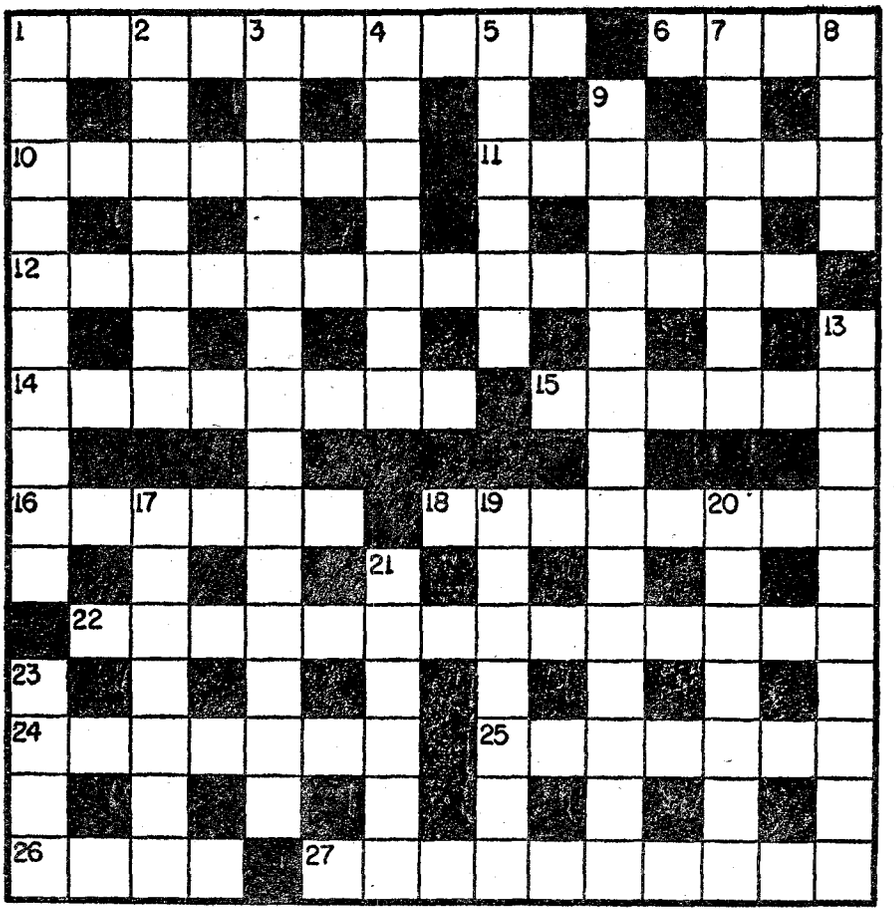
Crossword Puzzle No. 421

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Masculine gene that produces a criminal? (10)
6 and 2 down. Reputedly one of these is a low-grade salt. (11)
10 Just a shade of resentment implied. (7)
11 Their cold steel might cut quite a figure. (7)
12 The *Missouri* for example? (And we hope it's more sturdy than the president's yacht. (3, 4, 2, 5)
14 Mount for the best ride possible! (8)
15 Game where one might expect to come across. (6)
16 Sounds like it should be worn around the neck, rather than on board. (6)
18 Debating the construction of conifers. (8)
22 Not necessarily spent at the spa. (6, 8)
24 Rocks obtained from E St., extended. (7)
25 Minos' daughter and I are confused by it. (7)
26 Regrets seeing the "Streets of Paris"? (4)
27 Period of confinement, not necessarily spent in the hospital! (10)

DOWN

1 Gyp, and how he might get out of the river? (10)
2 See 6 across.
3 Light-headed, no doubt. (14)
4 Behaved as peepers naturally would. (7)
5 Get it in the toss, if you want to. (6)
7 Related to the sort placed on watch. (7)
8 See 23 down.
9 A ragged thing, or a sort of man related to it. (14)
13 Going down! (10)
17 Society's capital. (7)
19 Salt that implies an animal comes to an early end? Quite the opposite! (7)
20 Likely to be perpetrated by 1 down. (7)
21 Urges one to breakfast, perhaps! (4, 2)
23 and 8. Rats! Ask Hoagy! (8)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 420

ACROSS:—1 and 13 WATER ON THE BRAIN; 6 APIS; 10 INKLING; 11 UNCLEAR; 12 COSSETED; 15 RIFLE; 17 LAWMAKERS; 19 VEGETABLE; 21 DROWN; 23 TORSO; 24 BY THE WAY; 27 ETERNAL; 28 EXAMINE; 29 ELSE; 30 PRESIDENTS.

DOWN:—1 and 26 WHIPPETS; 2 TAKEOFF; 3 RAINS; 4 NIGHT CLUB; 5 HOUND; 7 PRELATE; 8 SPRING SONG; 9 SCABBARD; 14 PRIVATE EYE; 16 EFTSOONS; 18 WRESTLERS; 20 GARDENS; 22 OVATION; 24 BALER; 25 ELAND.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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